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Semitic Epigraphical Notes.—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

I.

AN OLD HEBREW SEAL.

This seal was purchased in Sidon, from a native dealer, and is now in my possession. It is a scarabæoid, longitudinally pierced. The material is agate, nearly white, and the inscribed surface measures three-quarters of an inch in length. The accompanying fac-simile, made from a plaster cast, is twice the size of the original. The seal has been badly chipped, but for-



tunately the inscribed face is intact, and the letters are all beautifully clear. It reads:

לְיְהוָשָׁע בֶּן עֲשִׂיאָה

“[The seal] of Joshua, son of Asaiah.”

The name Asaiah (“Yahwè made”) is found in this same form on a Jewish seal published by Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil*, iii., § 32). The form **עֲשִׂיאָה** occurs on another seal in the British Museum (see Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 362); **עֲשִׂיאָה** is found in the Old Testament, 2 Kings xxii, 12; cf. the names **עֲשָׂרָהָאָל**, 2 Sam. ii, 18, and **עֲשִׂיאָלָה**, 1 Chr. iv, 35.

The Old Hebrew characters of this inscription are of extraordinary beauty, as can be seen from the fac-simile. Few specimens of writing in the old alphabet have been found which could compare with it in this respect. There is nothing to indicate the period to which it belongs. So far as any characteristic forms of letters are concerned, its owner may have lived at any point in Hebrew history, from the early kingdom down

to the time of the Roman rule. Attention may be called, however, to the resemblance which these characters bear to those of the Siloam inscription. The resemblance is especially noticeable in the case of the letter **Y**, which has the same peculiar shape, pointed at the top, and the same slant. The **l**, though of a very common type, also recalls the Siloam inscription both in the shape of its head and in its long shank. The same may be said of the letter **J**. The **נ**, again, has the same unusual breadth and graceful form as in the other inscription. These resemblances can of course be allowed but very little weight; they do, however, add to the interest attaching to the seal.

Such a specimen of Hebrew calligraphy as this one, moreover, deserves a warm welcome. Attention has already been called to the beauty of the characters in which it is inscribed. Few, if any, alphabets are more pleasing to the eye than the old North Semitic at its best, and the characteristic Hebrew form of it shown here represents one of the finest developments, artistically, which it has experienced. In view of our almost total lack of knowledge of the native art of the Hebrews, such testimony as this to their sense of form and proportion is of great value. And it would certainly be hard to find any single specimen of the script which is more beautifully executed than this one.

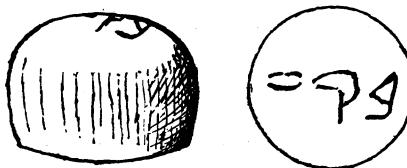
Instead of the customary line, or double line, to divide the field in halves, a somewhat more elaborate device is used here, the origin of which I do not know. At the end of the second line of writing is a star of six rays.

II.

AN INSCRIBED HEBREW WEIGHT.

The weight here described was bought by me in Jerusalem, of a native dealer in antiquities, in the spring of 1901. I could learn nothing definite as to the source from which it came. Its form, as will be seen from the accompanying drawing (slightly larger than the original), is the same as that of the four interesting stone weights bearing the problematic inscription **לענ**, most fully described by Clermont-Ganneau in his *Recueil*, iv., 24 ff. Three of these, it will be remembered, were found by Dr. Bliss in his excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell Zakariyâ; the fourth was unearthed at the village 'Anâta, north of Jerusalem. In the present case, the material

is red marble (specific gravity 2.658); whether or not other weights of this same material have been found, I do not know. One of the four just mentioned is described as "a reddish stone," but nothing more definite is said about it.



The fact of chief importance connected with this weight, however, is the legend which it bears. It is inscribed with the Hebrew word **בְּקָע**, *beqa'*, "half"; that is, presumably, half of a shekel. It weighs 5.8698 grams, or 90.58 grains; accordingly, the unit (i. e., the shekel) was 11.74 grams, or 181.17 grains. The Hebrew "shekel," as we know, was a standard which varied considerably, though the limits of its variation are still unknown. In the familiar silver coinage of the Jews, the old Phoenician stater of 14.92–14.96 grams was the basis. But there were other norms, and one of these, belonging to Babylonia, comes very close to the unit of our **בְּקָע** weight. The Babylonian (or Persian) silver shekel of the "royal norm" weighed about 11.50 grams (see the tables in Head's *Historia Numorum* and Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*), and it may well be that we are to recognize the result of Babylonian influence in the use of a standard in which the half-shekel was (approximately) 5.87 grams. It is further noticeable that this weight bears no obvious relation to the **נָצֶת**, which seems to have been equivalent to a little more than 10 grams. The four weights above mentioned weigh, respectively, 9, 9.5, 10+,¹ and 10.21 grams, and possibly represent a still further debased standard.

As for the word **בְּקָע**, it has heretofore been known only from two passages in the Old Testament. In Gen. xxiv, 22, Abraham's servant gives the girl Rebecca a nose-ring whose weight was a *beqa'*; and in Ex. xxxviii, 26, the same word is used in stating the amount of the poll-tax (also described as **מִחְצִית**)

¹ So estimated. This stone (the one found at 'Anâta) had been pierced, and its original weight accordingly reduced.

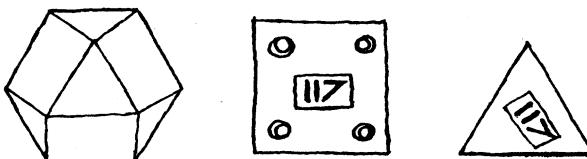
הישקל). It is remarkable that the word should not be found elsewhere; the fact deserves notice, too, that in both of these passages the Targum translates בקע by the non-committal תקלא, "weight."¹ Are we to conclude from this that the word בקע, meaning "half-shekel," was obsolete at the time when the Aramaic translation was made?

III.

A PHOENICIAN (?) BRONZE WEIGHT.

While buying some old copper coins in Jaffa from a native resident of that city, I happened to pick up this small bronze object, presumably a weight. Its owner attached no importance to it, but "threw it in" with my purchase. I have seen nothing else like it, nor has any one of the Orientalists to whom I have shown it been able to give me any information regarding it. Whether it is ancient, or modern, I do not know. It looks like an antique.

As the figure (somewhat enlarged) shows, it has the form of a crystal of fourteen sides. The angles are not quite regular;



no one of the six quadrilateral faces is a perfect square, nor is any one of the eight triangles equilateral, though the variation is so slight as to be hardly noticeable. In every one of the fourteen faces is an incused oblong, containing what appears to

¹ These are the two passages upon which those scholars rely who assert that the Aramaic תקלא, תקל, was sometimes used to mean "shekel." Hence the current interpretation (almost unchallenged, but hardly tenable) of MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN; and every recent commentator on Dan. v, 25 remarks that in Gen. xxiv, 22 and Ex. xxxviii, 26 תקל means "shekel." On the contrary, the word has this meaning neither in the two passages named, nor anywhere else.

"Half-shekel," in the Targum, is regularly פלגות סלעא.

be the Phoenician numeral 12.¹ The depth of the incuse varies, but the characters—always thin and clearly cut—are never quite flush with the surface. In addition to this marking, each one of the six quadrilateral faces is stamped with four small circles, or crescents, somewhat obliquely driven. These are not regularly placed, except that, roughly speaking, each of the four corner spaces of the quadrilateral is occupied by one of them. In one case, a *fifth* circle is stamped directly into the incused oblong, in such a way as to obliterate the character which represents the numeral 10. The weight of the object is 14.9566 grams, or 230.82 grains. It is this fact, especially, which has led me to characterize it, tentatively, as “Phoenician,” for this is just the weight of a Phoenician silver stater. Head, *Historia Numorum*, gives the standard as about 230 grains, and Hill’s *Handbook* as 14.92–14.96 grams. The numeral “12,” moreover, corresponds admirably to this conclusion, for the Phoenician coinage (including the Jewish) was based upon the system of twelve parts; a fact due, no doubt, to Greek influence.

IV.

ON A PALESTINIAN ‘FORGERY’

Under the title “Fälschung?” Dr. Messerschmidt contributes to the *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* for June 15, 1903 a discussion (with fac-simile) of a certain curious inscribed object recently brought to Germany from the neighborhood of Jerusalem. It is a disc of baked clay, about two inches in diameter, reproducing very clumsily and on a much enlarged scale a well-known coin of John Hyrcanus. Nothing more need be said, of course, as to the value of this ‘antique’; it does not even deserve to be taken so seriously as would be implied in giving it the name ‘forgery.’ Messerschmidt is by no means inclined to regard it as genuine, and yet expresses himself as mystified on two points: (1) How did it happen that *clay* should be chosen as the material for forging a bronze coin? and (2) Why did its owner, who was a workman of the lower class, appar-

¹ The character for 10 is somewhat unusual, to be sure, though not without its analogies. It may be, of course, that I am wrong in supposing this device to be the numeral 12, or indeed a numeral at all.

ently make no effort to sell it, and eventually part with it for a mere trifle? Do not these things, he asks, speak against the conclusion that it is a forgery?

The fact is, this is one of a class of objects not infrequently hawked about the streets of Jerusalem by certain vagabonds of a familiar type—half beggar, half rascal. The things are made by pressing clay into forms which some idler has amused himself by fashioning. The conditions which produce such works of art as this one are a little spare time, a sense of humor, and the remote possibility of gulling some brother rascal, or perhaps even a tourist. It would take perhaps an hour to whittle out of wood such a form as the one from which this ‘coin’ was made. I have frequently been offered just such discs in Jerusalem, the would-be vender always accompanying his offer with a broad grin. One of these objects now in my possession (a clay disc, about two inches in diameter, pressed from a form) bears a representation of Eve and the serpent, with a few meaningless letters appended. Apparently there was never a thought of getting more than a few paras each for these ‘inscriptions.’ It is not surprising, then, that the native workman mentioned in this case did not show any great eagerness to turn his property into money.

In a foot-note to Messerschmidt’s article (col. 241), the editor, Dr. Peiser, expresses the opinion that this clay disc [or rather, its matrix?] belonged to the apparatus of a forger of coins, and formed a part of a cylindrical mould similar to those which have been found in Egypt (he might have said, throughout the whole breadth of the Roman empire, from the British Isles to Asia). But the hatchet-carved monstrosity before us is in no way related to the apparatus to which he refers, or to its product, beyond the fact that it is made of clay and happens to have borrowed its pattern from a coin. The moulds employed for the forgeries in question are of course made from the genuine coins, and are designed to receive molten metal. They give at least an exact reproduction; in fact, it is not usually safe to pronounce these clay cylinders the work of forgers, inasmuch as the official copper coinage of the later Roman empire, both Eastern and Western, was very largely executed in just this way. As for this worthless Palestinian trinket, it is certainly a misuse of language to call it a ‘forgery.’

V.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE BOD-‘ASTART INSCRIPTIONS.

Since¹ the publication of my former paper (vol. xxiii. of this Journal, pp. 156–173) on the inscription recently found in the ruins of the temple of Ešmun, near Sidon, the literature of the subject has grown rapidly. Besides the publications of Berger and Lagrange (see the foot-note), the inscription has been discussed by Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil*, v., pp. 217–267), Hoffmann (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 22. Nov. 1902; 31. Jan. 1903), G. A. Cooke (*Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903, pp. 401–403), Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris* ii., pp. 49–54), and others. Especially the excellent fac-similes published by Lagrange and Berger have settled all doubt as to the correct reading of the several inscriptions—or rather, the one inscription in its several slightly varying forms. Still other inscribed stones, moreover, have been unearthed from the temple-ruin, one of which exhibits such important variations from the typical reading that I have reserved the discussion of it for a separate note (see VI., below).

For the sake of convenience I repeat the complete text, the lines corresponding to those of the inscription which I published and discussed in my previous article. I have also indicated the division into clauses which seems to me to be required. Regarding this division I shall have more to say below.

מלך בְּדַעַתְּרָתָה מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם בֶּן בֶּן מֶלֶךְ
אִשְׁמָנָעָר מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם, בֶּצְדָּן יְם
שְׁמָם רַמָּם אָרֶץ רַשְׁפָּה מִצְדָּן מִשְׁלָה, אִשְׁ בֶּן
וְצְרָנְשָׁל אִתְּ הַבָּתָה זָ, בֶּן לְאַלְיָי
לְאַשְׁמָן שָׁר קְרָשָׁ.

The only letters here concerning which there can be any question are the third and sixth in line 4; in each of these cases it is altogether uncertain whether the character is **א** or **א'**. In one

¹ I think I may fairly claim to have been the first to publish the Bod-‘Astart inscription. Berger's *Mémoire sur les inscriptions du temple d'Esmoun à Sidon* was put in distribution Oct. 3, 1902; Lagrange's article appeared in the number of the *Revue Biblique* dated Oct. 1, 1902. The number of this Journal (vol. xxiii., First Half) which contained my article was issued in August, 1902, the actual mailing of the volume taking place on Sept. 9 and 10.

point I have been obliged to change my former reading; the first character in line 4 is ְ, not ֱ, as is shown by the facsimiles since published, especially plate iv. in Lagrange's article (*Revue Biblique*, Oct. 1902, pp. 515-526).

The translation:

“*The king Bod'-Aštar, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Ešmun'azar, king of the Sidonians: reigning in Sidon-on-the-Sea, ‘High Heavens,’ and the Rešeph Land, belonging to Sidon: who built and solidly walled (?) this house: he built it for his god, Ešmun, the Holy Lord.*”

בֶּצֶד יְם . . . מִשְׁלָל “reigning in Sidon-on-the-Sea, etc.”. Curiously enough, no one of the translators of the inscription, excepting myself, has connected the word מִשְׁלָל with the king Bod-‘Aštar, although this is the connection naturally suggested by the context (and especially by the preposition בֶּצֶד יְם in בֶּצֶד יְם:)—and indeed, as it seems to me, the only connection possible. Clermont-Ganneau, for example, follows the title of the king with a long list of supposed place-names, contained in a clause which ends nowhere. Lidzbarski's rendering is still worse, for he does not even give the writer of the inscription time to forget how he began his clause, but makes him end it with בֶּצֶד יְם: “König B-A., &c., Enkel des E., &c., in Sidon des Meeres” (period). But what could this mean? And what sort of a Semitic sentence would this be? Grammar and usage have their rights. The preposition בֶּ, moreover, cannot be disposed of so easily. Cooke (*North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 401 f.) boldly supplies the word “reigning,” but this he has no right

¹ I have adopted here the spelling Bod-, rather than Bad-, in deference to the prevailing custom, though I believe the latter form to be the one in accord with modern transcriptional usage. We transcribe the

Arabic ^{فَضْل} *fḍl*, for example, by *fḍl*, not *fḍl*, or *fḍl* (English *u* in *but*), though the sound of the vowel is probably the very same one which was heard by the Greeks who transliterated Bod- in the Phoenician name. In short, our accepted system of transcription is essentially etymological, not phonetic.

² Of course, in this and all the similar cases, I have employed the Hebrew vowel-pointing merely as the most convenient way of indicating the grammatical form, or the nature of the word; not because I have any idea that the Phoenician pronunciation closely resembled that of our Massoretic Hebrew.

to do. The one thing obviously needed is the participle **מישל** (similarly employed, be it noted, and with **בָּ** as its complement, in the Ešmun'azar inscription); why not use it, then, since it is here?

The *second* principal clause of the inscription, then, ends with **משל** (*the first* ending with *the second* **צדנים** in line 2). The *third* clause contains the most difficult passage of all; as to its extent, however,—after the second clause has once been marked off as above,—there can be no question; it ends with the pronoun **וְ**. At this point, again, my own attempt at translating the inscription has thus far stood alone; all the other renderings treat **וְאִיתָהּ הבָתָן** as the object of the following verb **בָּנָ**, rather than of the one which precedes. Now, aside from the weight of the arguments just set forth, there is very plain evidence that the author of the inscription intended to make a principal pause after the pronoun **וְ**. One of the two inscriptions published by Berger actually ends at this point! The stone of which he gives the fac-simile (*op. cit.*, Plate ii.) contains only half of the inscription, it is true (the other half evidently stood on the adjoining stone¹); but the point at which the lettering ends—near the beginning of the third line—leaves no room for doubt that this inscription, though otherwise like its fellows, originally omitted all that elsewhere follows the words **הַבָּתָן**. Still further evidence—equally conclusive—is furnished, if I am not mistaken, by the new inscription of this series which is treated below (see VI.). In this case, also, the words “he who built this house” form a clause by themselves. This clause-division of the inscription, with the interpretation which it involves, I venture still to think—as I have thought it from the first—the only defensible one.

שם רם. That this is the name of a district belonging to Sidon (**מִזְרָח**, line 3) seems tolerably certain. This interpretation has also been adopted by Clermont-Ganneau and Cooke.

¹ Lidzbarski's theory, that an ignorant or careless workman carved only the right hand half of the inscription and omitted the rest, is untenable. It fails utterly in the last line, of which **אִיתָהּ הבָתָן** could not possibly have been the *half*! The fact that there is a margin left at the end of the stone cannot be used as an argument. We could not expect the lettering to be carried to the edge, especially on stone so very soft and fragile as this.

Lidzbarski objects, that it would be “wunderlich” as a place-name. But then, every people has a certain number of place-names which are “wunderlich” when approached from the side of etymology and the dictionary; this one is by no means remarkable.¹ What is far more important is the fact that this is the same place which is called שֵׁם אֲדֹרֶם in the (later) inscription of Ešmun‘azar; and that this is the very same temple “of Ešmun, the Holy Lord,” built “near the spring (עַז יְלֵל) in the mountain,” which is there mentioned. The several independent grounds of this conclusion I have already set forth at length, in my former article; the one of them which is perhaps the most striking of all, the presence of the עַז יְלֵל (“conduit-spring”?) near this temple-ruin, has apparently escaped the notice of all those who have discussed the inscription. Clermont-Ganneau objects to the identification of the two temples, that the Bod-‘Aštar ruin could not be described as “in the mountain (בְּדָרֶךְ),” inasmuch as it stands only about fifty meters above the plain. But this argument is less weighty than it seems. The deciding question is *not* how high this place actually is, but whether the popular speech would describe it as “in the mountain.” And on this point there is certainly little or no room for doubt. The contrast between the coast plain and the mountain district is nowhere more sharp than at just this point, where the outpost hills of the Lebanon rise steeply from the level strip and run back in steadily increasing height. Any native of modern Sidon would be certain to speak of this ruin as *fi-l-jebel*, “in the mountain”; I have myself repeatedly heard them thus describe it. And it is in every way probable that the ancient Sidonians spoke of it in the same way.

Lidzbarski, replying to Clermont-Ganneau, cites line 16 f. of the Ešm. inscription against the interpretation of שֵׁם אֲדֹרֶם as the name of a district. The passage reads: “It was we who built . . . the temple of ‘Aštar in Sidon-on-the-Sea, and who made ‘Aštar to dwell in שֵׁם אֲדֹרֶם; and it was we who built a temple to Ešmun . . . in the mountain and made him to dwell in שֵׁם אֲדֹרֶם.” Of this, Lidzbarski says: “Das ist

¹ Lidzbarski’s “Flammen-Erde,” אַרְצָן רַשְׁפָּם (so he reads), would be a much more extraordinary name, it seems to me. But it is easy to accuse one another of stumbling here, where we are all in the dark.

Unsinn, wenn שֵׁם אֲדָרָם ein Ort ausserhalb von אֶרֶץ מִקְדָּשׁ sein soll." But this is a very strange assertion. How does Lidzbarski know that the induction of Astarte, mentioned in the second half of line 16, had any relation to the temple mentioned in the first half? The very fact that the name of the goddess is repeated might have shown him the probability of the contrary conclusion. The 'induction' of a god into a new precinct, or a new temple, was an important ceremony by itself. It might (we should suppose) take place at any time, whether the building in question was old or new, and whether built by the dedicating parties or by others. An old building might be consecrated for a new purpose, or, doubtless, to a new god. There is not the least difficulty in supposing that *two* temples, in different parts of the city, are referred to in Ešm. line 16.¹ One of these, the one in Sidon-on-the-Sea, Ešmun'azar and his mother built. The temple of Ešmun, referred to in line 17, was the one which had been *begun*, at least, by Bod.-Ašstart.

The chief importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that it carries with it the order of accession of these two kings. If the temple on the Auwali is the one referred to in the Ešm. inscription, as the facts thus far known to us seem to show, then it is certain that the reign of Bod.-Ašstart preceded that of Ešmun'azar. No other commentator on the new inscription, so far as I know, has reached this conclusion, but all have assumed the reverse order. The reason for the assumption has been, doubtless, the supposition that the father of Bod.-Ašstart never came to the throne; but this supposition has now been proved false, as will appear below.

אֶרֶץ רִשְׁךָ. Still another argument in favor of the division and interpretation which I have advocated is the fact that it frees us from the worse than awkward שֵׁלֶף. "Rešeph-District" presents no difficulty. The enumeration of the three places without the use of the conjugation has many analogies, both Phoenician and Hebrew, as Clermont-Ganneau remarks. These three districts were undoubtedly large and important. It is of course useless, in view of our total lack of knowledge of the conditions in the city at this time, to conjecture why they received mention in this inscription. One might think of a dozen plausible reasons.

¹ See, on this whole question, my former article, pages 162-164.

אֲשֶׁר בָּן, “who built.” These are certainly just the words we should expect to see in an inscription telling of the erection of a temple. So Ma’sūb, line 2, for example; compare also the constantly recurring formula **אֲשֶׁר נָדַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר**, etc., in dedicatory inscriptions.

וְצִדְנֵשֶׁר. It is certainly not easy to determine what should be done with this group of letters. It contains a verb; this much can be said with confidence. The third letter, or the sixth, or both, may be **ד** rather than **ר**. The reading **וְצִדְןֵשֶׁר**,

“and Sidon-in-the-Country” (now adopted by Clermont-Ganneau), which of course first suggested itself, I clung to for some time; it was one of those which I discussed in presenting my paper to the American Oriental Society in April, 1902. But nothing can be done with it; any mention of Sidon—whether the whole or a part of the city—is altogether out of place here, even if **אֲשֶׁר בָּן** be read in some other way. As for the reading **צִדְןֵשֶׁר**, that seemed to me to be absolutely excluded by the fact that Sidon is *feminine*. The usage is unvarying, from the **צִדְןֵן רַבָּה** of the Old Testament down to modern times, and is strengthened besides by a very distinct personification; recollect how the head of a woman, representing the city, appears on the Sidonian coins, and how she is called (also on coins) the “mother” of various cities and colonies! Lidzbarski proposes to read not only **צִדְןֵשֶׁר**, “Sidon herrscht,” but also **צִדְןֵן מִשְׁלֵךְ**.

“Sidon regiert,” in line 3. But neither is permissible; any Phoenician would certainly have written **שְׁרָת** and **מִשְׁלָת**,¹ like **אֲדָרָת**, **מִלְכָת**, **רַבָּת**. Verb-forms **מִשְׁלֵךְ** and **שְׁרֵךְ** would of course be possible in Phoenician with a feminine noun; but the verb in the perfect tense would be quite out of place here, and neither Lidzbarski nor any other interpreter of the inscription has proposed to use it.

Possibly **צִדְןֵן** = Arabic **صَن**, “to complete,” or (4th stem) “to make solid or compact.” **שְׁרֵךְ** could then be the verb (denominative from **שְׁוֹר**) “walled,” the two verbs being

¹ If Lidzbarski were to be shown a coin bearing the legend **ירוּשָׁלַיִם הַקָּדוֹשׁ**, he would at once pronounce it a forgery, and rightly. Nor would any such combinations as **צִיּוֹן מִשְׁלֵךְ**, **צִיּוֹן שְׁרֵךְ**, etc., be possible in Hebrew.

joined without ְ in the way so common in Syriac. The whole clause would then be translated: "Who built *and solidly walled* this house." In view of the enormously massive character of the wall of this temple-enclosure, these words would be most appropriate.

לְאַשְׁמָן שֶׁר קָדֵשׁ. Lidzbarski remarks, that it is "Geschmacksache" whether קָדֵשׁ or קָדֵשׁ (Kadesh) is read here. But is it merely a matter of taste, and is there no preponderance of probability here? We know from the Ešm. inscription, lines 9 and 22, that the gods were regularly termed קָדֵשׁ, "holy," by the members of this dynasty—as doubtless through all Phoenicia. A more natural title than "Ešmun the Holy Lord," accordingly, no one could require. But on the other hand, anything more far-fetched than this supposed allusion to Kadesh(!) it would be hard to find. Why add to the difficulties of the inscription, which are already great enough, by discarding the obvious and simple and dragging in the remote and obscure? Thus we see one scholar and another proposing here, in place of אֲשֵׁן בֵּן, "who built," a proper name "Ešbon" or "Ešbûn"(!); in place of מֶשֶׁל, "reigning," the combination "Sidon of Mašal" (mere nonsense); and finally "Kadesh" in place of קָדֵשׁ, "holy." The (manufactured) Hebrew phrase, קָדֵשׁ עַזְן מִשְׁפָט בַּמְדָכָר (cf. Ešm. line 17), which seems to have led Clermont-Ganneau astray, is not remarkable as a mere verbal coincidence—and it is nothing more than this.

Not a little conjecture has been wasted on the question, why the inscribed faces of these stones were all turned toward the inside of the thick temple-wall, where they could not be seen. One commentator thinks of political reasons; another, that the stones originally formed part of another building. But no one who has seen and handled the stone itself can be in doubt as to the true reason: it was simply in order that the inscriptions might be preserved. This is limestone of the softest and most friable kind, broken by any blow, easily cut with the finger-nail, and rapidly worn down by weathering. If King Bod-‘Astart had left these records of his building where they were exposed to the air and the rain, they would very soon have disappeared. He was not concerned to inform his contemporaries, in this way, that he had built the temple—they all knew it;

what he wished to do was to make a record for posterity. So the Babylonians did, with their stamped bricks; so we do to-day, with our filled 'corner-stones.' Therefore he employed every possible means of preserving the letters of his inscriptions, filling them in with red paint, and burying the inscribed faces in the core of the wall. The event has justified him, for his record has been preserved, in good condition, for more than two thousand years.

A word is in place here regarding the stone which I purchased in Sidon, and published in fac-simile in my former article in this Journal. Some of those scholars who have mentioned it have taken for granted, not unnaturally, that it is in New Haven. I am sorry to say that this is not the case. At the time when my article was written, I was still in uncertainty as to how the stone would be disposed of. In the summer of 1902, when my account of the inscription was ready for publication, I wrote to the friend in Syria with whom I had deposited the stone, telling him of my intention to write at once to Constantinople, informing the officers of the Imperial Museum as to its whereabouts, and putting it at their disposal. I had strong hopes, it is needless to say, that inasmuch as the Museum already possessed good examples of the inscription, I might be allowed to keep this one for Yale University. But to my surprise, I received answer from my friend that he had already *sold* the stone for me, since he supposed that my chief interest in it was to use it for publication, and believed that I would be glad to have it finally off my hands. As I had left him no instructions, nor sent him any word regarding it for more than a year, I could not blame him for taking this step, in which he acted purely in what he believed to be my interest. I suppose that the stone is now in Paris, though I have heard nothing further from it.

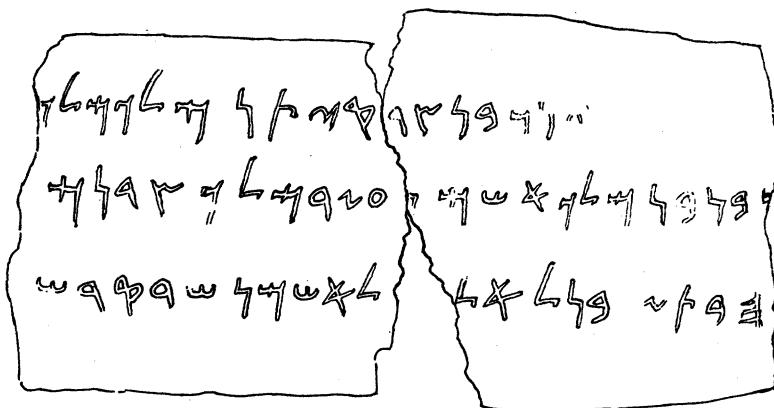
VI.

A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF EŠMUN.

This is another of the Bod-'Aštar inscribed stones, which is now in Beirut. I understand that a full description of it, accompanied by a photograph, is already in process of publication, and will probably appear before these notes of mine are published. Winckler has a brief notice of it in the *Oriental-*

istische Litteratur-Zeitung for June 15, in which he gives the text on Schröder's authority.

My first knowledge of the inscription was derived from a photograph of the stone brought me (June 19th) by my former colleague, Dr. Warren J. Moulton, of New Haven, who had himself just returned from a visit to Syria. It was at once plain from the photograph (which is a very good one) that the new inscription, while in the main identical with those previously found, makes a very important addition to our knowledge, in that *it gives the name of the father of Bod-‘Astart*. It was also plain that the inscription is incomplete at the beginning of each line, a piece of considerable size having been broken away from the stone here. The evidence of



this latter fact is abundant and conclusive. At the beginning of the *first* line, before the letters נ, which are the first which can be distinctly made out, there is barely room for six—or at most, seven—letters. Yet this נ can have formed only part of a word, and aside from the additional letter or letters belonging to it, we have to provide space for the name בְּדֻשְׁתָּרָת (seven letters!) at the very least, and presumably for a preceding מלך in addition. We should certainly expect, moreover, in view of the unvarying usage in the other inscriptions, that this one also would begin with the complete formula: מלך בְּדֻשְׁתָּרָת מלך צדְנָם. At the beginning of the *second* line, the end of a letter is plainly visible (see the drawing). This cannot be the last letter of the incomplete word, מלכְ[ם], with which

the first line ends, for then we should have the anomaly of lines beginning unsymmetrically. In all of these inscriptions, the first letters of the several lines are in the same perpendicular. At the beginning of the *third* line, the particle **אִתָּה**, at least, is required before the **הַבָּת**. It is very noticeable, finally, that as the inscription now stands Bod-‘Aštar is not called ‘king of Sidon,’ nor even ‘king’ at all! The [ם] at the end of line 1 would most naturally be referred to the name (Sedeq-yaton) which immediately precedes, just as the [ם] of line 2 certainly belongs to the preceding Ešmun‘azar.

Immediately upon receiving the photograph, I restored the whole inscription as follows:

[מלך בדעתה מלך צדנים בן צדקיתן מלך מלך
[ם מלך צדנים] בן בן מלך אשמנוע מלך צדנים
[אש בן אית] הַבָּת זָרְנָם לְאַלְיָה לְאַשְׁמָן שָׁר קְרָשָׁ]

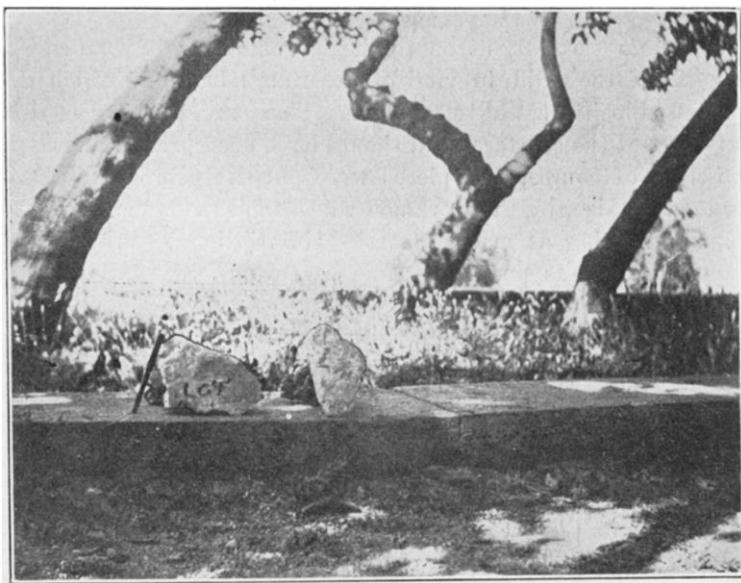
The text thus restored is merely an abbreviated form of the typical inscription of the series, *containing everything essential, but nothing more*, and with the important addition of the Sedeq-yaton clause. It will be seen that I supposed the lost fragment to have contained eight letters in each of the first two lines, and seven in the third—which is written and spaced throughout somewhat more boldly than the other two.

It is not often that a conjecture of this nature receives such speedy confirmation as did this one of mine. Dr. Moulton, to whom I had sent my restoration of the inscription, mailed to me on the 16th of July a number of photographs which he himself had taken in Beirut and Sidon. One of these was a very clear reproduction of the right-hand fragment of the stone here described, showing the **ן** of the word **צדנים** [צדנים] in the first line so distinctly that there could be no doubt whatever in regard to it.² Another, which aroused my interest much more strongly, was a photograph of two small fragments of limestone bearing Phoenician characters. Regarding these Dr. Moulton wrote, that they are

¹ Concluding, of course, that the **ן** was carved by mistake instead of **ם**. The mistake is an extremely easy one in the Phoenician alphabet. The overlined letters are those which must have occupied the space (now blank) at the beginning of the first line on the large fragment.

² Schröder, cited by Winckler, *l. c.*, reads (or conjectures?) **ן** at this point.

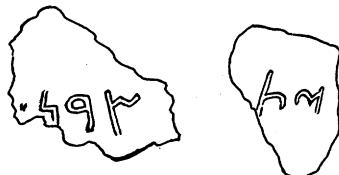
now in the museum of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, whither they were brought at the same time with the Bod-‘Aštar inscription. They are of the same limestone as the larger pieces, but have not been supposed to be related to them in any way. One of the two fragments contains the letters צְדָנָם and part of the following ס; the two letters on the other Dr. Moulton thought might be ל'. I subjoin a reproduction of his photograph; the fountain-pen leaning against one of the fragments serves to show their size.¹ It was at once plain to me—and I



think no one will dispute the conclusion—that these are *pieces of the missing fragment*. The one containing the word צְדָנָם originally joined immediately on to the beginning of line 2 (where the end of the letter ס is still plainly to be seen!); the other, containing the letters נ' (not ל'), joined immediately on to the beginning of line 3, the letters forming the latter part of the word

¹ Unfortunately, the stones were photographed in the shadow; and as the letters have lost much of their distinctness in the process of reproduction in half-tone, the result is not very satisfactory, even in the best impressions from the plate. Still, the practised eye will generally be able to make out every one of the characters.

אִתְ. It will be seen from the photograph, and from the drawing which I append, that the Phoenician characters of these two small fragments are exactly the same, in form and size, as those of the main inscription. No one will be surprised that the



pieces do not exactly fit on to the larger stone; it would be a miracle if they did, in view of the rough handling which the original block must have received. The strange thing is that any part of the shattered end should have been preserved. It is possible, of course, that pieces were purposely broken off, and reduced in size, by the workmen who found the stone, with the aim of making as many separate 'inscriptions'—and thus as much money—as possible. This has often been done, to the sorrow of archaeologists.

The complete inscription, restored with the aid of the new material, reads as follows. Letters supplied by conjecture I have enclosed in square brackets; those which are indistinct have a dot above.

[מלך בְּדֻשְׁתָּרָת מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם, בֶּן צְדִיקְתָּן מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ]
[מלך] צְדָנָם, בֶּן מֶלֶךְ אַשְׁמָנוּר מֶלֶךְ צְדָנָם,
[אש] בֶּן אִיתְ הַבָּת ז, בֶּן לְאַלְעִי לְאַשְׁמָן שֶׁר קְרָשָׁן.

"*The king, Bod-‘Astart, king of the Sidonians, son of Sedeq-yaton, king of kings, king of the Sidonians, and grandson of the king Ešmun‘azar, king of the Sidonians; he who built this house; he built it for his god, Ešmun, the Holy Lord.*"

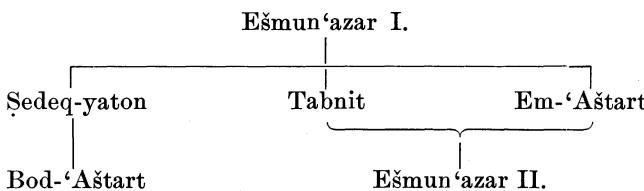
Line 1. The head of the **ד** in **צְדָנָם** is fairly distinct in the photograph. Not one of the preceding letters can be made out, as the stone is badly damaged here. The first letter on this fragment was probably the **ר** in **עַשְׁרָת**.

The name Sedeq-yaton, "Sedeq gave," is itself interesting. This is the plainest instance, thus far, of the use of **צְדָק** (the

¹ I have substituted **ם** for the **נ** of the original.

Σεθνάκ of Philo. Bybl.) as the proper name of a god.¹ We had already צְדִקָּמָל on Phoenician coins, and the names צְדָקָאֵל and צְדָקָרְכָּר in South Arabian inscriptions. With these might also be compared the בְּצִדְקָה of the Old Testament; see Moore, *Commentary on the Book of Judges*, p. 15 f.

The important fact, however, is that Bod-‘Aštart’s father occupied the throne of Sidon. If my previous conclusions are justified (and especially the conclusion that the temple on the Auwali is mentioned in the Ešm. inscription), it would follow that Sedeq-yaton was the *elder* brother of Tabnit, and reigned before him. This is decidedly the easiest supposition, moreover, in view of what we know of the respective ages of Tabnit and his son Ešmun‘azar at the time of their death; see my former article, pages 168 f. The order of the kings of this dynasty, as we know them, would accordingly be: Ešmun‘azar I., Sedeq-yaton, Tabnit, Bod-‘Aštart, [Em-‘Aštart and] Ešmun‘azar II. The genealogical table would have the following form:



As to the grandiloquent title, “King of Kings” (!), here applied to Sedeq-yaton, it is of little use to conjecture, but it was probably mere verbal glory. Titles cost nothing, especially when they are intended to be buried straightway in a stone wall. It may be that Bod-‘Aštart wished here to assert *his* father’s preëminence over Tabnit, the father of his younger cousin (and rival?) Ešmun‘azar, whose mother, the priestess and queen Em-‘Aštart, was undoubtedly very influential in Sidon. But such guesses as this have little value.

Line 2. The final □ with which I have begun this line can-

¹ The names יְתָנָצָר and צְדִיקָה are well known. From the difficulty of finding any satisfactory etymology for the name of the god צָדָק, one is tempted to conjecture that it is merely an abbreviated form of צְדָקָה.

not have stood at the end of line 1; its presence there would have made the line much too long in proportion.

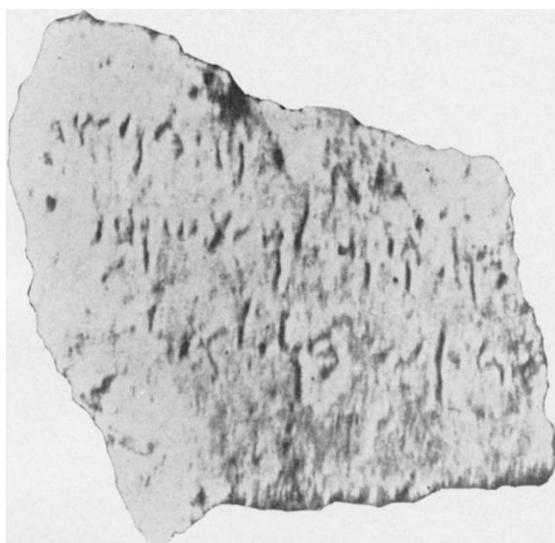
The □ in the first **צָרְנָם** is practically certain. Both ends of the letter are preserved.

Line 3. I do not see how there can be any doubt as to the way of beginning this line. Compare especially the second inscription published by Berger, where the **אֵית הַבָּת** at the end *must* have been preceded (and governed) by the verb **בָּנָה**. See above, page 213.

I may perhaps be permitted to call attention to the way in which this inscription supports my division and interpretation of the other. The clause **בָּצָרְןָם ... מִשְׁלָךְ** is omitted bodily, and the bare possibility that **מִשְׁלָךְ** might have been construed with **בָּנָה**, instead of with what precedes, is thus finally removed. The fact that there is a pause after **בָּנָה**, and that **הַבָּת** is governed by the preceding verb, not by the following, appears as plainly here as in the second Paris inscription (which ends with the word **בָּנָה**). And finally, the omission of the word-complex **וְצָרְנָשָׁךְ** here shows that whatever it contained was of only minor importance (as my former translation also regarded it). That it could not have contained the name Sidon seems to be beyond question.

Postscript. The above was already in type when the *Revue Biblique* for July, 1903, containing Lagrange's "Nouvelle note sur les inscriptions du temple d' Echmoun," pp. 410-419, came into my hands. Lagrange offers some new suggestions relative to the interpretation of the Bod-‘Aštart inscription, and then appends a brief discussion of the new member of the series, the restoration of which I have attempted above. He gives the text of Schröder, supposing the inscription to be complete at the right hand, and to have begun with the words **בְּדִיעָשָׂרָה** [בְּדִיעָשָׂרָה] **וּבָנָה**; but appreciates the great difficulties which attend this reading, and states forcibly the chief among them. He gives interesting and important extracts from a letter written by Schröder, who has examined the stone itself. Two sentences in particular, regarding the doubtful characters in the first line, call for special comment. After remarking that the first distinct letter is **בָּ**, Schröder proceeds: "Elle est précédée par un trait qui ne

peut être que la haste du *taw*, lettre finale du nom **בדעתה**, fondateur du temple d' Echmoun." And a little further on: "Sur la photographie de l' inscription on voit entre le *waw* et la haste du **נ** final du nom de Bodachtoreth un trait qui peut induire en erreur les savants qui n'ont pas vu la pierre ni l' empreinte en papier de l' inscription." With all respect for the authority of so experienced and careful a witness as Dr. Schröder, and with due appreciation of the fact that I have seen neither the stone itself nor a squeeze of the inscription, I must nevertheless record my own conviction that the shaft



("haste") of the letter in question is not that of a **נ**. In both of the photographs in my possession the line is distinctly *curved* (precisely as I have drawn it), forming the exact counterpart, in both shape and length, of the shaft of the **נ** which follows in the word **בנ**. Would Schröder have thought of the letter **נ** here if it had not been for the supposed necessity of filling this space with the name Bod-'Astart? As for the misleading line "between the **נ** and the shaft of the **נ**" against which he warns us, it is plainly to be seen in one of the two photographs which I have. It forms the downward continuation of the

upper vertical stroke of the **ג** (though swerving slightly from its direction), and ends at a point about half-way between the middle points of the shafts of the **נ** and the **ג**. It is so evidently the result of accident that I omitted it in my fac-simile, and chose, for the sake of caution, to leave the upper stroke of the **ג** unfinished. That I was right in so doing seems now to be proved by Schröder's valuable testimony.